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ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA

June 1983

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PREFACE

This bibliography is culled from a variety of unclassified periodicals, scholarly journals, and books received during the previous month. Some sources, dependent on surface mails and convoluted routing, are slightly dated. Their entry herein is contingent solely on date of receipt. The array of political, military, strategic, and other materials cited is derived from general, regional, and some national publications published yearly, quarterly, monthly, weekly, or erratically. Hence, sources differ from month to month. The intent of the bibliographers is to provide a good sampling of regional-related sources to aid the researcher in maintaining awareness of the state of the art and of developments. No presumption of comprehensiveness is made.

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ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA
(Received in May 1983)

AFRICA GENERAL

Chaigneau, Pascal. "Ocean Indien: Les Velleites d'Une Zone de Paix (Indian Ocean: Toying With the Idea of a Zone of Peace)." Defense Nationale, April 1983, pp. 107-22.

Since the 1971 United Nations resolution declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, the region has become one of the hottest global points as the great powers have built up their military presences. The American military buildup reportedly is a response to the Soviet presence in Afghanistan. France maintains that its substantial military presence in the region is necessitated by the instability of Indian Ocean littoral states and by the strategic significance of the Ocean through which 70 percent of Europe's oil is shipped; this has had a large impact on the evolution of France's relations with Madagascar, the Comoros, and Djibouti. The reappearance of China in the region after 5 centuries is also influenced by the Soviet presence.

Crocker, Chester A. "US Security Policy Towards Africa." African Defence, January 1983, pp. 32-35.

Text of an address given in Baltimore, Maryland, by the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. Discusses the interaction of political, economic, and security factors that impact on American interests in Africa. Examines each region of Africa and appraises its complex problems. Also looks at US assistance in these areas of conflict and confrontation.

"Elf's African Empire." West Africa, 14 February 1983, pp. 394-95.

Direct links between the French Government and Elf Aquitaine have led to a petroleum policy which is as much political as economic. French presidents since de Gaulle have been closely involved in Elf's activities and have furthered French interests by granting or withholding exploration or development rights. Although Elf was edged out in Ivory Coast by US petroleum interests, it is making a strong effort to regain influence.

Faligot, Roger. Services Secrets en Afrique (Secret Services in Africa). Paris: Editions du Sycomore, 1982, 133 pp. Reviewed in Bulletin d'Information sur l'Intervention Clandestine, January/February 1983, p. 15.

Gives an account of (US) CIA, (UK) MI 6, (French) SDECE, (USSR) KGB, and the (PRC) Te Wu involvement in Africa. A short outline of the organization of each service is given, with an emphasis on their roles in Africa. Four or five particularly significant or sensitive periods for each intelligence organization in Africa are also described.

Igue, O. J. "L'Officiel, le Parallele et le Clandestin: Commerces et Integration en Afrique de l'Ouest (Official, Parallel, and Clandestin Trades: Commerce and Integration in West Africa)." Politique Africaine, March 1983, pp. 29-51.

Trade has had an important effect on nation building and economic viability in West Africa. The different forms of trade--trade by state enterprises,

officially sanctioned private trade, and illegal trade--may coexist, complement, or compete. National boundaries are often ignored or evaded by trading networks which are often dominated by foreigners. Togo and Benin's economic existence is greatly enhanced by their being entrepôts for smuggling into neighboring countries. While the effects of illegal trade are often detrimental to the national well-being of a country, it provides needed exchange which would not take place otherwise.

Latremoliere, Jacques. "Des Crises Differentes Pour les Peuples Voisins (Different Crises for Neighboring Peoples)." Marches Tropicaux et Mediteraneens, 7 January 1983, pp. 7-10.

French President Mitterrand's visit to Benin and Togo is used to compare the two countries' histories, politics, and economic situations. Both are suffering from the world recession and both are governed by military leaders. Benin's experiment with Marxism-Leninism appears to have failed and a liberalization of the economy is taking place. Togo has achieved food self-sufficiency. Franco-Togo and Franco-Benin relations are also discussed.

Mesa-Lago, Carmelo and Belkink, June S., eds. Cuba in Africa. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Center for International Studies, 1982.

A series of papers on Cuban activities in Africa, especially in the Horn. Additional subjects covered include economics, the Soviet-Cuban alliance and its impact on Africa, and future prospects for Cuban involvement in the Third World.

Momoh, Eddie. "West Africa's Restive Students." West Africa, 18 April 1983, pp. 933-34.

Student demonstrations have contributed to the overthrow of several governments in West Africa. The role of students is not clearly defined in most African countries, and this has led to problems for numerous governments. Recent student demonstrations--generally responding to new cutbacks in support--took place in Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Zaire, and the Central African Republic. Political instability is fueled by students who now refuse to follow blindly the often corrupt leadership of the governments in power.

Semyonov, V. "Pentagon Bases in Africa." International Affairs, March 1983, pp. 110-13.

From this Soviet perspective, the stated US policy of regarding mineral-rich Africa as strategically important to the West is in reality an excuse for a massive military buildup in the region. The Pentagon reportedly shipped large consignments of weapons to the regime in Somalia in summer 1983 so that the country could be used as a staging area for the Rapid Deployment Force. The United States has thus established a chain of military bases and facilities in Somalia, Kenya, and Diego Garcia; the chain is now creeping southward as the United States plans to make better military use of South Africa.

ANGOLA

"Angola in the Fire." Southern Africa, October 1982, pp. 7-8.

Angola's economy continues to decline as a result of South African raids into southern Angola, UNITA raids throughout most of Angola, and the central

government's inability to come up with and implement reasonable plans and projects. Despite this, the author feels that the current regime in Luanda will win in the end. Consequently, the Reagan Administration should be convinced not to interfere in Angola's affairs.

"Angola Weighs Proposals." Africa News, 31 January 1983, pp. 1-2.

An overview of both international and domestic considerations facing Angola in dealing with the problems of South African raids and Namibian independence.

CAMEROON

Essomba, Philippe. "Cameroun: La Transition (Cameroon: The Transition)." Bingo, May 1983, pp. 13-15.

Since President Paul Biya took office in November 1982, the catchwords in Cameroon have been discipline and integrity. Biya's credibility and popularity are a result of his honesty. His policies over the last few months have provided opportunities for cadres in all the provinces to contribute to public affairs.

CHAD

"Document: Tchad: Acte Fondamental de La Republique (Document: Chad: Founding Act of the Republic)." Afrique Contemporaine, January-February-March 1983, pp. 59-60.

Thirty-six Articles which officially instituted the new Republic of Chad under the Council of the Command of the Armed Forces of the North. Articles 20 and 21 concern the new National Army.

CONGO

"L'Economie Congolaise en Expansion Rapide (The Congolese Economy in Rapid Expansion)." Europe Outremer, December 1982, 50 pp.

This entire issue devoted to the Congo covers the political, economic, and industrial sectors of the country with emphasis on the oil industry and hopes for a sound economic future. One section specifically deals with the Congo's relationship with France.

ETHIOPIA

Erlich, Haggai. The Struggle Over Eritrea, 1962-1978. Stanford: Hoover, 1982, 155 pp. Reviewed in Foreign Affairs, Spring 1983, p. 989.

An Israeli historian and specialist on Eritrea asserts that the Eritrean separatist movements effectively lost their struggle with Ethiopia in 1977-78 when their own internal feuding, aggravated by ideological differences, prevented them from moving decisively while the Ethiopian Army was occupied in the Ogaden. According to the author, most Arab aid to Eritrean insurgents also dwindled after 1978 as a consequence of the heavily Marxist orientation of the dominant EPLF liberation group.

Greenfield, Richard. "The Drawn-Out Trauma of the Horn of Africa." New African, August 1982, pp. 18-19.

An historical overview of how Ethiopia managed to acquire international backing for its claim to the Ogaden.

GHANA

Chazan, Naomi H. An Anatomy of Ghanaian Politics: Managing Political Recession, 1969-1982. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, April 1983.

An overview of Ghanaian politics from the late 1960s to the present focusing on the decline of state power and adjustments to political recession. Traces the dual patterns of "diminution of the state" and "the adaptation of coping mechanisms" in the spheres of leadership, political structure, ideology, and political economy.

Kyerematen, R. K. B. "Chieftancy in Ghana: Asset or Liability?" West Africa, 9 May 1983, pp. 1118-20.

Discusses the role of chiefs in modern Ghanaian society and assesses their importance in the success of the revolution. Outlines the mechanisms the PNDC uses to mobilize support for government programs, particularly the role chiefs are playing in implementing the Green Revolution.

"We Don't Rule Out A Military Option - Interview with Major Boakye Djan." Africa Now, May 1983, pp. 96-98.

Major Boakye Djan, the current leader of Ghana's principal exiled opposition group, the Campaign for Democracy in Ghana (CDG), discusses the future plans of the CDG and the present state of affairs in Ghana. He also answers questions about the abortive coup attempts, the possible return to a civilian government, CIA connections, and the state of security in Ghana.

GUINEA

Schissel, Howard. "Guinea Polishes Its Image Abroad," Modern Africa, March/April 1983, pp. 20-21.

Guinean President Ahmed Sekou Toure's trip to France and the United States last year and his liberalization of the economy indicate that changes are in order in Guinea. In addition, Guinea is the largest receiver of Arab aid in Sub-Saharan Africa. Guinea's potential mineral wealth is of great interest to European, Japanese, and American investors. Realistic economic planning is creating a sense of optimism.

IVORY COAST

Andriamirado, Sennen. "Cote d'Ivoire: Houphouet Traverse l'Orage (Ivory Coast: Houphouet Weathers the Storm)." Jeune Afrique, 11 May 1983, pp. 24-27.

Although claims of Libyan involvement in recent disturbances in Ivory Coast are questionable, the events themselves are the most serious in years. President Houphouet-Boigny found his reputation under attack and took the offensive for the first time in years, recalling his years of activism in the

1940s and 1950s against French colonialism. The main issue over subsidized housing for teachers is to be reviewed, and striking teachers and students are not to be humiliated or punished. Houphouet has emerged with a major victory as the non-educational sector has rallied behind him. All is calm for the moment.

Andriamirado, Sennen. "Cote d'Ivoire: Pourquoi Les Enseignants Se Rebellent (Ivory Coast: Why Are the Teachers Rebellng)?" Jeune Afrique, 4 May 1983, pp. 24-26.

The abruptness with which the Ivory Coast revoked the privilege of free housing for teachers caused a general strike of Ivoirian secondary school teachers. In turn, this resulted in a strong reaction from the president. Threats by the government against the "privileged ones" whose lodging in expensive dwellings is paid by the government failed to get the teachers to return to their posts. However, the strike has exposed the corrupt system of state subsidies to rich and well-connected landlords. During the economic recession everyone had to tighten his belt, and the president has determined that it is the teachers' turn.

KENYA

Onim, Radiala. "Kenya Goes Back to the Grassroots." New African, February 1983, pp. 18-19.

Kenya's only legal political party, KANU, has been jolted out of its lethargy by last August's coup attempt. A country-wide party recruitment drive has been launched with the objective of creating a more vigorous party with a grassroots structure. In the past, KANU's organization has been dominated by the provincial administration. It is hoped the local elements will be strengthened through the membership drive so that the party will accommodate people at all levels of society.

LESOTHO

"Lesotho in Troubled Waters." Africa, January 1983, pp. 16-17.

Lesotho's inability to prevent the December 1982 raid into Maseru by members of the SADF or to strike back underscores Lesotho's economic dependence on and military impotence vis-a-vis South Africa. Despite this blow to Lesotho's pride, the Maseru government most likely will continue to work with Pretoria to exploit Lesotho's water resources--some of which will be diverted to South Africa.

MALI

Mamane, Koffi. "L'Echeance de 1985 (The Bills Fall Due in 1985)." Asie-Afrique, 24 January 1983, pp. 29-30.

Mali again has been denied admittance to the West African Monetary Association. An unresolved border dispute with Upper Volta remains the single obstacle. In spite of claims by the new Upper Volta military government that it does not oppose Mali's reentry, Upper Volta will continue to veto Mali's reentry until a border settlement. Mali's chances for economic recovery hinge on its reintegration into the union.

NAMIBIA

Hurlich, Susan. "SWAPO Refugees: With the People of Cuanza Sul." Southern Africa, April 1983, pp. 17-20.

Ms. Hurlich, an employee of Oxfam Canada, recently visited SWAPO's largest refugee camp in Angola. Located in Cuanza Sul Province, the camp houses over half of the reported 70,000 Namibian refugees in Angola. Hurlich describes the living condition in the camp.

"Maintaining Military Depth." Financial Mail (Johannesburg), 29 October 1982, p. 521.

An interview with Colonel Ken Snowball, presently attached to the intelligence wing of the staff of General Charles Lloyd, Commander of the South-West Africa Territorial Force. Colonel Snowball presents a rather optimistic view of the Force's military capabilities in Namibia.

NIGERIA

Balabkins, Nicholas. Indigenization and Economic Development: The Nigerian Experience. Greenwich: Jai Press, 1982. Reviewed in Foreign Affairs, Spring 1983, p. 38.

An account of Nigeria's indigenization program and evolution into a one-product export economy. The author is pessimistic about Nigeria's ability to modernize through effective economic development.

Nigeria: An AED Special Report. Reviewed in West Africa, 2 May 1983, p. 38.

The second annual AED publication aimed at the businessmen's market. Contains information on Nigeria's infrastructure, petrochemicals, industry, and agriculture.

RWANDA

"The Shadow of Malthus Over a Genuine Hope of Economic Progress." The Courier, March/April 1982, pp. 25-40.

Rwanda's economic and agricultural development is discussed in detail. The country faces serious problems because of the shortage of arable land, the rapid growth in population, and the fact that it is landlocked. A major reform of education has been undertaken to deal with some problems. President Juvenal Habyarimana is interviewed.

SENEGAL

Harrison, Christopher. "The Marabout Factor." West Africa, 14 March 1983, pp. 644-45.

An examination of the support given by influential Muslim leaders to President Abdou Diouf in the 27 February elections. The open support of the marabouts who called upon their followers to vote for Diouf helped to insure his overwhelming victory.

"Protocol for Defense of the Senegambian Confederation and Integration of the Armed Forces of the Republics of Gambia and Senegal." African Defence, April 1983, pp. 36-38.

Contains both the protocol for combining the Senegalese and Gambian armed forces and an annex detailing the general organization for defense of the two nations.

Schissel, Howard. "The Lebanese Breathe Easier But Tensions Persist." African Business, August 1982, pp. 30-31.

Resentment against Lebanese businessmen runs high in Senegal, but the Diouf government has maintained a tradition of toleration. Networks between Lebanese businessmen who provide capital and international connections and Senegalese with political influence have been forged. Well-established Lebanese can expect more of the same, but small businessmen have cause for apprehension as Senegalese move in to replace them.

SEYCHELLES

Franda, Marcus F. The Seychelles: Unquiet Islands. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1982.

This profile of the Seychelles discusses history, people, politics, economy, and prospects for change. Includes selected bibliographies and a number of tables and charts.

SOUTH AFRICA

"Bophuthatswana NOT Afraid to Shed Blood." Paratus (Pretoria), January 1983, p. 44.

Bophuthatswana's President L. M. Mangope recently opened the homeland's third military base at Mankwe. The opening included a speech by the President, a weapons display, and an awards ceremony.

Jaster, R. S. Southern Africa in Conflict: US Policies in the 1980s, Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 1982. Reviewed in The Journal of Strategic Studies, vol. 5, no. 4 (December 1982), p. 575.

Discusses the politico-economic and strategic situation in Southern Africa. Examines the importance of the Cape Sea route and South Africa's mineral resources to the West.

Keeble, Shelia. The Black Who's Who of Southern Africa Today. Johannesburg: African Business Publications, 1979, 282 pp. Reviewed in The African Book Publishing Record, vol. 8, no. 1 (1982), p. 5.

Profiles of 1,000 prominent black, Indian, and coloured personalities in South Africa. The book's preface contains among other things a directory of the various homeland's governmental departments, as well as lists of members of various Indian and coloured councils, and lists of staff attached to the black universities in South Africa.

"Lesotho Incident . . . the Whole Truth." Paratus (Pretoria), January 1983,
pp. 18-22.

The SADF justifies its raid into Maseru, Lesotho, in early December 1982. Despite Lesotho's report that civilians were killed in the raid, the SADF pointedly claims that those killed were members of the ANC who were planning terrorist raids against South Africa, Transkei, and Ciskei. The article includes photos of captured maps and armaments and brief biographies of several ANC "terrorists" who were killed.

"Political Gymnastics." Africa Now, February 1983, pp. 28-29.

Explains the internal party logic behind the South African Colored Labour Party's (LP) decision to participate in Prime Minister Botha's proposed ethnic parliaments. Also looks at the strong opposition to this decision by anti-apartheid groups throughout South Africa.

Poser, Guenter. "'Strike Craft' als Waffe der 'armen Marine': Die neue maritime Rolle der Republik Sued-Afrika (Strike Craft as a 'Poor Navy's' Weapon: The New Role of South Africa's Navy)." Marine Rundschau (Munich), January 1982, pp. 1-5.

Since the end of the Simontown Agreement with Great Britain in 1975, South Africa has turned from a deep sea to a coastal navy. Consequently, South Africa has had to redefine its naval strategies and develop its own ship-building capabilities. Despite this change, Posner argues that South Africa's naval infrastructure and logistics can be expanded to protect the Cape route if needed. This would depend on UK or US cooperation with the South African Navy.

"South Africa: PAC Now 'United'--Ebrahim." Africa Confidential, 31 January 1983, pp. 6-9.

An interview with Ahmed Gora Ebrahim, member of the Central Committee of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC/A) and PAC Representative to the United Nations. Ebrahim discusses a variety of topics including the history of the PAC, PAC's relations with the USSR and the PRC, recent internal developments and leadership changes, and PAC relationship to the ANC.

"South Africa: Union Leaders Evade Convictions." Africa News, 24 January 1983, pp. 8-9.

In late 1982, treason charges against the top two officials of the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) were dropped by the Cape Province Attorney General. This is a major victory against the South African Government's attempts to "crush" unregistered black unions. As a result, the SAAWU has increased in numbers and influence in South Africa. Attempts are now being made to increase cooperation among all black unions.

"Special Report: Sanctions." Southern Africa, March 1983, pp. 7-26.

A series of nine articles on sanctions against South Africa. In addition to standard antiapartheid rhetoric, the series is critical of continuing Western--US in particular--support for the Pretoria regime. Includes a

chronology of international calls for sanctions since the early 1960s. The series concludes with an interview by David Ndaba, a member of the ANC's Permanent Mission to the United Nations.

TANZANIA

"Nyerere in Trouble, Closes Borders." Weekly Review (Nairobi), 15 April 1983, pp. 12-14.

Although Tanzanian security forces officially have completed their arrests of the December coup plotters, the full extent of the plot has yet to be unravelled. The closure of Tanzania's borders in April, ostensibly to stop smugglers and blackmarketeers, may also have been ordered to close off escape routes for any coup plotters who may still be at large. Nyerere has taken the coup plot very seriously. Discontent in the country has not led to open hostility toward Nyerere, but sympathy for those who conspired to overthrow the government was widespread.

TOGO

"Remembering Olympio." West Africa, 17 January 1983, pp. 135-37.

President Sylvanus Olympio of Togo was assassinated 20 years ago and the details of his death in the military coup have never been clear. Olympio's struggle against Ghanaian territorial claims continues to hold true.

UPPER VOLTA

"Aims and Motives." West Africa, 23 March 1983, pp. 771-72.

The attempted coup against the newly installed military government, which itself came to power in a military coup, prompted President Ouédraogo to state his government's objectives. The army is to be restructured and good relations with Libya will be continued, although there will be no attempt to set up an Upper Volta Jamahiriya.

Maiga, Mohamed. "En Campagne avec les Militaires du C.S.P. (In the Countryside with the Military Men of the C.S.P.)." Asie-Afrique, 14 March 1983, pp. 26-28.

Representatives of the military government are being sent into the countryside to hold meetings with "the people" and to explain the government's plan to end control by the old politicians and traditional leaders.

ZAIRE

Andriamirado, Sennen. "Les Droits de l'Homme: Victimes de la Vertu (Human Rights: Victims of Righteousness)." Jeune Afrique, 27 April 1983, pp. 56-61.

This gigantic country with 30 million inhabitants of numerous ethnic backgrounds has been ruled by Mobutu Sese since 1965. To consolidate his presidency, Mobutu has organized a dictatorial structure which includes a special presidential brigade which will soon number 4,400 soldiers. This guard force

is the best trained, best equipped, and perhaps the strongest one in Africa. Another guarantee of Mobutu's power lies in the effectiveness of his intelligence services which do not hesitate to violate human rights in order to ensure support for the Mobutu regime--a policy for which Mobutu has come under attack from Amnesty International. Mobutu has angrily responded to Amnesty's accusations by listing improvements he has made in the quality of Zairean life, including the Inga I and Inga II power stations and the International Trade Center.

Young, Crawford. "Zaire: The Politics of Penury." SAIS Review, Winter/Spring 1983, pp. 115-30.

The Mobutu regime formed major economic links with the external world based on its copper resources. When the copper market decline began to shatter Zaire's development strategy in 1974, Zaire found itself enmeshed in a new kind of external economic bondage. By the end of 1978, Zaire was in virtual receivership. Since that time, enormous externally funded development projects have been introduced, but they have only increased Zaire's dependency. Mobutu, however, uses Zaire's weakness to ensure that the West will come to his rescue, recognizing the Western fear of Zaire becoming a radical anti-imperial regime seeking a Soviet alliance.

ZIMBABWE

Cokorinos, Lee. "Towards a One-Party State." Southern Africa, March 1983, pp. 3-6.

Looks at Prime Minister Mugabe's promise to establish a one-party state in Zimbabwe as well as at various opposing political points of views. Also enumerates the numerous political, economic, and social problems that Mugabe must overcome if he is to succeed.

"Nkomo Flees Zimbabwe." Southern Africa, April 1983, pp. 9-10.

In addition to listing the immediate reasons for Nkomo's flight, the author looks at the deep, long-term split between Mugabe's ZANU and Nkomo's ZAPU organizations. The author wonders how much influence Nkomo will have on domestic politics from outside the country. Will there be a civil war? Finally, even if there is a reconciliation between Mugabe and Nkomo, will the dissatisfied ZAPU "guerrillas" follow suit?

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